1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNH Creek NNH
Muskogee;
Hitchiti; Koasati

601 602 the connection. The ĭki or ĭkutci are connected with self through the primary ĭki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other ĭki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; ĭki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; ĭaha, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wânwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hâkpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktâlwa, mother-in-law; hâtcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hâtisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tcilwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hâtcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 ●184 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed somewhat not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

601 My list of Hitchiti terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, fosi; father, ĭki (in direct address by children, tati); mother, hki or ki (in direct address by children, watci); mother's sister, hkosi ("little mother"); elder brother, tcayi; younger brother, yakpitci (or yakposi); elder sister (man sp.), funki; younger sister (man sp.), otcabaka; brother (woman sp.), ĭakfi; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, hopui; daughter, ostaiki; nephew (and niece?), ohosotci; wife, hâlki (called by husband in direct address hamuhtci); husband, nâkâni ("male"); mother-in-law, katamoh. The oldest sister was known as hamuhtaka.

The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Natchez N0891

C. 184 601

Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each.

C. 601

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, fosi; maternal uncle, mosi; father's sister, tcipo; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, tcatci; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, bâhlo; daughter, ostaiki. Also, ânale (or onali) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother pitci.

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A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections.

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskhogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

1. dedex (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.

2. icdu, yecdu, yecta, necte (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilálgi, a name originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilálgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.[13] If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogálgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis.

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Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another.

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Of the first class were the Nokfahálgi, Asunálgi, and Kantálálgi, said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunálgi referred to the ási or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, asunwa. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down ási bushes for a bed; hence the ási was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Intanisálgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislági or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Lutcálgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Liálgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service.

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

[13] See p. 61.